1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 173 first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

[887] The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

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FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

539 173 An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

STRING RECORDS

The use of string records seems to have been more highly developed in the Marquesas than in any other part of Polynesia. Such records served principally to aid the memory in the recitations of chants and geneologies, but Stewart (59, p. 335) mentions a time record consisting of a string of tapa in which a knot was tied at the return of every full moon. One complete string record, and part of a second were collected by the Bayard Dominick Expedition.

The complete record, shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, obtained in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, has a cylindrical body and is made from rather small three-strand sennit applied in a wrap weave. The warp strands, which run longitudinally, are placed on a slant so that each strand encircles the cylinder once between the upper and lower ends. The upper end tapers to a point and terminates in a loop. At the juncture of this tapering portion with the body of the cylinder there are five small loops of sennit, placed at equal intervals on the circumference, to each of which is attached a small piece of white tapa. The lower end of the cylinder is open, and its edges are finished with sixteen loops of sennit about one inch in length. To two of these loops are attached long sennit cords which were rolled up, when the object was purchased, and thrust into the interior of the cylinder. The cylinder is six inches long and approximately one and three-quarter inches in diameter. After weaving, it seems to have been blackened with earth. This record was used as an aid in singing the *tuutuu* (Handy).

Plate LXXXIV, *D*, shows a geneological record. It is considerably larger than *E*, the string record just described, and is stuffed with some soft material.

From the sides spring six long pointed flaps, three above and three below. The knotted cords, which served to keep the record, seem to be attached to the body without regular order and vary considerably in length. The knots are all double, one half of the knot standing for the husband, the other for the wife. The long cords sometimes divide at some distance from the body, and the branches represent other lines of descent.

The string records, according to Von den Steinen (56), were purely mnemonic and could only be interpreted by the maker, or by one whom he had instructed. They were used to record geneologies, and also as an aid in chants of a religious nature. Records of both sorts were sometimes attached to a single body. If the record was in the possession of a family, the father made a knot at the birth of each child, and untied the knot if the child died. When a son married, an additional knot was added for his wife. The woven body of a geneological record was called *too*, signifying the tap root of a tree, and symbolized the history of the gods and the legendary period of the world. The flaps attached to the body are said to symbolize the brothers of the god Atea.

Deaths may also have been recorded by knot records. Von den Steinen says (56, p. 113):

"I was told that in ancient times, a post, hung with many string records, stood on the western cape of the island of Hiva Oa. There the souls of the dead sprang from a high rock into the sea to begin, submerged, their journey to the ancient home, Havaiki. A priest was delegated to register each death which came to his knowledge with a knot."

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A number of interesting records for songs and stories are also figured and described by Von den Steinen. One record (56, p. 111-113) has a body in the form of a woven sack, as large as a child's head. The knotted record was attached to the edge of the sack, and when not in use was kept coiled up within it. The sack was kept hung up by a handle in the house of the *tuhuna*, and was supposed to contain a great number of spells and stories, all of which could be related by the aid of the single cord. Another record is very elaborate. It has a short body, covered with white tapa and decorated with plaited coconut leaves and bunches of midribs of coconut leaflets. To this are attached seven cords for songs and twelve for *mata*. All of these were recited in regular order. Still other small records, of the general type shown on Plate LXXXIV, *E*, were used to instruct chiefs' children in chants. One record (56, fig. 5) is woven from fau bark, an unusual material for these objects.

Von den Steinen (56, p. 113) reproduces a drawing by Porter, entitled "God of the Taipis." It is in the form of a human figure, woven from sennit, and from the loops surrounding the top of the head is identifiable as a string record. Von den Steinen says that the use of these records in the Marquesas seems to have been limited to the islands of Tau Ata and Hiva Oa. An incomplete specimen was, however, collected in Fatu Hiva, and the object from Nuku Hiva figured by Porter seems to prove their existence in the northern part of the group.

String records were used to keep record of taxes in Hawaii, of songs in the Cook group, and of geneologies in New Zealand.

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IMAGES AND STRING RECORDS: *A*, TAPA COVERED FIGURE—FRONT, SIDE AND REAR VIEWS; *B*, WOODEN FIGURE—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS; *C*, SMALL DOUBLE STATUETTE OF THE WIRU (COURTESY OF MME. MALLIUS); *D*, GENEALOGICAL STRING RECORD (COURTESY OF M. GEORGE LA GARDE); *E*, STRING RECORD USED IN THE RECITATION OF CHANTS.

[End plate 45]

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10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[773] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out [211] his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga*, ceremonial priest or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before 304 they became *kaioi*. Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced